Fellowship

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To a Gold Star Mother

Which are the men who kill your son?
We all, praising the deed he's done.

Where is the fate that made him die?
We, liking splendor marching by.

Who make war that stops his heart?
We, loving him—we make wars start.

—William Stafford

War, Peace and Journalism, by Thomas Sancton

Does Sociology Contradict Pacifism?
Definitely Yes! says Thomas Ford Hoult
Emphatically No! says George W. Hartmann

Occoquan Record, by Winifred Rawlins

ff What a correspondent really sees through and behind events in Washington is discussed by Thomas Sancton, an intelligent and perspicacious reporter who was Washington editor of *The Nation*. . . . Two sociologists have a go at the subject of pacifism, Thomas Ford Hoult declaring that sociology proves it unrealistic, and George W. Hartmann taking the position that the pacifist point of view is in harmony with sociological facts while warmaking is not. . . . Last October when Garry Davis, in Paris, was tried for picketing the prison where a French CO was held, demonstrations took place in many cities in this and other countries to show solidarity with him. In Washington a group went to the French Embassy, from which they were eventually removed and then arrested. They were given the choice of paying a $25 fine or serving 30 days in jail, and Winifred Rawlins, the only woman in the group, elected the latter for reasons of principle. This is the story of her 30 days in the Women's Reformatory at Occoquan, Virginia.

FELLOWSHIP

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War, Peace, and Journalism

By THOMAS SANCTON

At the conclusion of an article on foreign-policy legislation being considered in the United States Senate, published in the April 9 issue of *The Nation*, I quoted a passage from a book by the group-psychologist Trigant Burrow, the substance of which was Burrow's belief that it is society's recurrent warlike states of mind, rather than the superficial political issues actually in dispute, which "produce calamities that gather their toll of human life by the millions."

"Man has no implacable enemy but his own unconsciousness," Burrow writes elsewhere—using the term "unconsciousness" in its psychoanalytical meaning of deep-seated, unrecognized human drives and motivations, many of which are hostile responses to the early and continuing frustrations and fears imposed upon man by an over-organized but forever chaotic external world.

"Psychoanalytical jargon," the reader may here be moved to protest; why introduce it in a Washington letter? The answer is: because the ideas expressed in the jargon are important; because the cumulative and many-sided social insights of scientists like Frederic Wertham, Erich Fromm, Karen Horney, Harry Stack Sullivan, Trigant Burrow (in his earlier writings), and certain others are forging a powerful and increasingly manageable tool that ought to be used when needed even in such unspecialized fields as political journalism.

The related subject of psychoanalytical anthropology also provides insights that help us to understand the intellectual and emotional turmoil beneath the surface issues in Washington, Moscow, and other capitals. The late Ruth Benedict's demonstration of the cohesive totality of all cultures, and, more important, of the arbitrary nature of those cultural absolutisms which deny any values but their own—yet are constitutionally unequipped to question their own—partly explains the malignant nonsense which

forms a substantial part of the "pending business" on any given day in Congress.

Gestalt psychology, too, with its expanding recognition of the interrelations of all objects and factors in any field of experience, provides an important analytical approach to those warlike "states of mind" which periodically, as Burrow says, plunge whole nations into a frenzy of destruction.

The Total Pattern

The complex but accurate terminology of the scientific German used in many of these studies unfortunately obscures the strength and simplicity of the ideas. It will be some time before such a phrase as "Gestalt journalism" will be seriously accepted in a Press Club bar. Yet *Gestalt* means only the configuration, the total pattern. "Gestalt journalism," that is, journalism which seeks the whole truth in any given field of politics, deeming the whole truth, or even the mere effort to discover it, greater and qualitatively different than piecemeal, selective reporting of its parts—"Gestalt journalism," in this sense, describes only what serious reporters have tried to do since writing began. But now new techniques exist for understanding life objectively, and even for understanding the subjective "meaning of meaning," to quote the title of a famous work; and these techniques must be employed eventually in political reporting.

Journalism, which is a form of communication among human beings, ought to be drawing increasingly upon biophysics, in which Gestalt philosophy is grounded. There is a whole new field of investigation—termed "cybernetics" by one of its foremost pioneers, Norbert Wiener—which by definition embraces fundamentals of "control and communication in animals and machines." But the one approach to such concepts that I have seen in popular journalism—and even there it was confined largely to objective description, eschewing equally valid and important subjective reactions—is a recent article by John McPartland in the March 28 issue of *Life*, entitled "Intercollegiate Bull Session." The following passage, in which the author quotes a California Institute of Technology student, will indicate the range of outlook:

"When I'm at school and things seem pretty routine I forget what we're doing and where we're going —and then I'll think of the gene studies that probably will change the human race more in the next few generations than let's say selective breeding has done to milk cattle in the last 500 years, or of the electronics boys at M.I.T. and their servomotor robots—intelligent, faithful, accurate, and untiring—or the computer men at the Moore School, with their machines that will solve a problem involving several hundred thousand separate and simultaneous calculations in a few hours, or the guided-missile and upper-atmosphere men at Guggenheim Lab here, . . . or the biochemists at Chicago, to whom life is a series of electronic and molecular relationships that are becoming more obviously understandable by the minute, and all the rest of us—patient, relentless, and ruthless. . . ."

What has all this, and particularly Gestalt theory, to do with Washington politics? one may ask. The answer I should like to make is this: Because the Gestalt out-

look accepts the significance of every force, tendency, and object in the political field as in all fields, it has precisely everything to do with Washington politics. If you sit day after day in the House or Senate press gallery or attend State Department or Presidential press conferences, you become aware of an enormous disproportion between the politician's one-dimensional, self-serving explanation of his actions and the implacable drift of our mismanaged nation and our mismanaged species into another and unimaginably terrible war. In the light of this knowledge, the futility of the "coverage" and "interpretations" offered by the flat front pages of the average metropolitan daily is overwhelmingly apparent.

From the rigid Marxist outlook, whether Socialist or Communist, any effort to explain wars as phenomena arising primarily from psychological factors in the species, rather than from the obvious material breakdown of capitalism, will appear to be so much bourgeois hogwash; a journalism which seeks to probe deeper than simple materialistic interpretations will seem to be both middle-class propaganda and a waste of time. With the Red Army astride Europe, Communists very easily "understand" the warlike irrationality and absolutism now ascendant in the West, while they deny completely the existence of the warlike absolutism in which they live and breathe.

Some time ago Sumner Welles was called out of retirement to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee concerning the importance of certain "spy documents" in the Hiss-Chambers case. He was impeccably dressed as always, affable, suave, but his face betrayed the profound tensions of a troubled man. I participated in a conversation at the press table about the impression Welles had made. However, shunning any writing that might smack of "psychoanalytic jargon," in our reports we discussed the flat value of his testimony and left the element of Welles the man completely untouched.

Failures of Leadership

Within a week, taking a walk on a freezing night because of the insomnia which, the family said, had "troubled him for years," Welles suffered his now-famous heart attack and almost froze to death. Such an occurrence would have rightly remained a private and personal matter had Welles never figured prominently in political life. But as an Under Secretary of State he had exerted profound influence upon the historical developments of the 1930's, developments which had led down a path of treaties, documents, and affirmations of right and principle into war.

The weight and virulence of mankind's unconscious hostilities were unquestionably concentrated in Germany during this period. But there was to some extent a failure of leadership throughout the world. Certainly grave failures could be noted during this period in our State Department. Joe Citizen—soon to be G.I. Joe—had nothing but a very flat image of State Department leaders like Welles, yet such men were the weavers of his fate. The average citizen's judgment of these Olympians was based upon dead-pan journalistic reports accepting them as completely at face value as do the news photo-

graphs of such ceremonies as we saw in Washington with the signing of the Atlantic Pact. Joe got no idea of the tentative, wavering, fallible, arbitrary, individual outlooks and personalities that, in America and Europe, were forging his future.

Pentagon Ceremony

I went with other correspondents to a ceremony in the Pentagon Building, where big, rugged Louis Johnson, business cartelist and American Legion leader, was succeeding sharp little James Forrestal, cartelist, militarist, and Wall Street banker, as Secretary of Defense. As one newspaper pointed out, it was the case of an ex-college wrestler succeeding an ex-college boxer, and the men's personal and professional "styles" were interestingly contrasted. My on-the-scene notes contained, as a reporter's notes invariably do, more of the total mood and meaning of that ceremony, came closer to its "Gestalt," than their ultimate rewriting would ever have done. Pursuing life-long habits of flat reporting, which for all newspapermen is largely a process of eliminating much they have actually seen, heard, and understood, I should have left out things which now, because of a subsequent development, I recognize as important. These notes bear upon my general argument, and I therefore transcribe them intact.

Army, Navy, Marine Corps color guards on the grass. Crowd—5,000? —keeps on paved walks. Low stair landing used as platform. On the front benches the big names and big brass—Senators, Cabinet, "Joint Chiefs," Saltonstall, old McKellar, Baldwin—laughter. Rep. Mendell Rivers everywhere like a grasshopper. Under Secretary of State Jimmy Webb passes with his country looks, green dotted tie, striped shirt—he could reach greatness. He introduces two ("Do you know my friend Tom Moore?"—is this the man who brought him to Sperry Gyroscope Company?)— behind the benches a soldier climbs up on comfort-station roof—wave of laughter runs through crowd— pigeons fly angrily from one part of lawn to another. Army color guard with white gloves, blue scarves—when ceremonies begin Omar Bradley turns, only man in crowd facing rear, and salutes army color guard at rear. Simple ceremonies, brief—swearing in, no speeches—Chief Justice Vinson's Georgia (?) drawl—the old order changes; the more it changes the more it remains the same thing— the new high command for the new war—grim wisp of a smile plays on Forrestal's face—he looks like a little boy that has been pushed aside—really wanted the job. Doris Fleeson understands it better than the Alsops—he looks like a boy hit in the solar plexus in the school yard—gray suit, the Forrestal perfect tailoring and informality. Ceremony over, Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Forrestal, the photographers posing and pushing—"one more, one more." Bomber from Andrews field flies low over Pentagon. The wives of the celebrities follow upstairs, some tired eyes, some mascaraed; what a life; the pace and the strain—and the uncertainty. After it was over the yard quickly cleared—music everywhere from unseen loudspeaker system, filling the yard—nostalgic, from another world—"I'll Be with You—In Apple Blossom Time"—the 1920's—redbud trees in bloom in Pentagon yard—how many more springs?

The walks of the plaza, warlike building, lined with pale green benches and tables, weathering paint, lone man feeding pigeons—somehow reminiscent of the parks of nineteenth-century European novels, the Luxembourg, the Yussupov Gardens.

My own image of Forrestal has been flat and journalese. I have despised and feared what he symbolized—Wall Street's direct command of the army. Yet looking beyond the flat image—and all reporters have a genuine impulse to do this, regardless of what they set down in print—I realized at this ceremony that I was looking at a confused and suffering human being. Instead of fear for the authoritarian power he had symbolized, I felt pity.

But more important than the question of my subjective reactions at this ceremony, I knew that a fantastic fifteen-billion-dollar war program, and the most murderous armadas ever assembled on this earth, had been captained for three years by this man, a man not even now fully master of himself, a man who had no more right or qualification to subject his nation and his kind to his controlled but unconscious, turbulent, hostile concepts of life, war, and peace than does the man who holds the office today; than do the absolutists and militarists who are the masters of the Red Army.

Within a week the Washington *Post* carried the following item:

> James V. Forrestal, former Defense Secretary, has been admitted to Naval Hospital, Bethesda, Md., for "medical study and physical check-up," it has been officially announced . . . A high-ranking Pentagon authority said Forrestal was very seriously ill. Other informed sources, asked if the recently resigned Secretary had suffered a nervous breakdown, said "nervous exhaustion" was a better description.

New Elements

These are but two of numerous instances in which apparently secondary and peripheral elements in the field of observation of the press galleries and press tables of Washington have turned into prime and dynamic elements in the Washington "story." If space permitted, the events of that week alone would furnish numerous illustrations equally substantial. Count Sforza telling a Press Club luncheon he was not a poor man, and that his family because of ECA now ate meat seven days a week instead of two, belongs in the total pattern of who signed the Atlantic Pact and why. Senator Connally's rambling, arrogant references to the "Jews, Arabs, and Hottentots" in North Africa give an insight into the primitive political outlooks that figured prominently in the Marshall Plan debate.

An increasing number of such experiences have served to confirm my slowly growing conviction that journalism, and in particular Washington journalism, must undertake to deal in elements it formerly ignored, now that a whole array of fierce and little understood elements have come to dominate scientific, military, and industrial processes, and consequently the fate of man.

Nothing is peripheral or secondary, in the old sense, in the Gestalt outlook; everything that has a bearing on an individual or a

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Does Sociology

Definitely Yes!

Says Thomas Ford Hoult

Now teaching in the Department of Sociology at Indiana Central College in Indianapolis, Thomas Ford Hoult resigned from the FOR about a year ago for the reasons set forth herein.

I HAVE been a convinced pacifist; not a peacetime pacifist, but a wartime and, I thought, an all-time one. Young and inexperienced when the recent war began, I found myself forced into the army by a long-standing pledge I had given as a four-year ROTC cadet. But during the war I found myself in conflict after conflict with army authorities. Because of my convictions, and after being investigated by the FBI, hounded and fined by the army, and isolated on remote posts where I would be less risk, I left the army with both it and myself breathing grateful sighs of relief. Immediately after my release, I wrote directly to the Adjutant General asking that my resignation as a reserve officer be accepted immediately. I said that I had entered the army under inner protest, and that from now on I would never again take part in any war. And I joined the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters' League and the Society of Friends.

But just the other day I sent another letter to the Adjutant General, this time requesting that my connection with the reserve army be considered merely "lapsed" rather than deliberately resigned. This new action comes as a direct result of learning—of a study of the actualities of society and social forces, rather than the idealization of such forces in which I had indulged as a pacifist.

After leaving the army, I wished to give some intellectual force to my convictions, and therefore took up the study of sociology as the most likely field for my purposes. My first reactions were those of chagrin and condescension toward my professors because they were not also pacifist; how, I thought, can they help but be pacifists when they know as much about society as they do? In due time I found that the very reason they were not pacifists is *because* they know so much of the realities of society. It has been with considerable loss of face among those whom I once courted so assiduously—pacifists, primarily—that I too have learned about the realities of society, and have ceased to be an absolute pacifist. It has been a painful but illuminating process.

One of the most impressive facts to come out of the scientific study of present-day and preliterate societies—the fields of sociology and anthropology—is an intense awareness of the power of cultural ways of doing things. The power of

(*Continued on page* 10)

Contradict Pacifism?

Emphatically No!

Says George W. Hartmann

Now at Roosevelt College in Chicago, Prof. George Hartmann was for many years a member of the Department of Sociology at Teachers College of Columbia University. He is National Chairman of the War Resisters League and a member of FOR.

THIS paper is written more as a supplement or companion piece and less as a full-dress reply to Professor Hoult's negative evaluation of pacifism from the standpoint of a social scientist. His thesis is a straightforward one: those who know most fully the nature of "social realities" are not and cannot be pacifists. Their intellectual insights forbid the adoption of such a viewpoint. The implication is clear that while not all persons inadequately acquainted with "social forces" are pacifists, it is nonetheless asserted that pacifists are comparatively uninformed in this field. Pacifists are ignoramuses in anthropology and allied fields; the *cognoscenti* in such matters are anti-pacifists.

That sociologists, or at least *some* of them, know a lot that is not so is a possibility Professor Hoult seems to disregard. Among the few certainties derivable from familiarity with the long history of thought is the fact that the apparently solid science of one generation or era can become the gross superstition of the next. We are assured, however, of the following "fatal" facts: 1. The folkways can make males feminine and females masculine; 2. Institutions are more readily transformed by subtle indirect challenges than by flat-footed opposition; 3. The success of civil disobedience in *some* situations does not guarantee its universal efficacy; 4. Democracies are not permanently made autocratic by occasional indulgence in war; and 5. A short-run societal outcome differs notably from a long-run result. Even accepting for the moment the correctness of all these propositions, I fail to see how their aggregate effect is to make the pacifist position logically untenable. Professor Hoult's laborious itemization designed to show how his request for a reactivation of his reserve officer status follows inevitably from certain anthropological commonplaces is almost a classic example of the perfect non sequitur. These minor textbook tid-bits are nearly as irrelevant to the validity of pacifism as any five statements derived from a geological survey of Afghanistan.

Actually the pacifist is relatively free from the dangerous ethnocentrism which students of human cultures have long recognized as a grave peril to sound judgment about other societies than our own. The allegedly "scientific" sociologist

who is consistently found upholding his own country no matter what the merit of the disputes to which it may be a party is generally a victim of one of the same social forces (viz., nationalism), that he is supposedly studying with some measure of detachment. An objective social science is possible and occasionally has been achieved when truly international, cosmopolitan, or universal attitudes have prevailed. When these have been weakened or repressed, scholarly pretensions to impartiality approach the farcical. The Myrdal report on the American Negro, e.g., possesses its monumental authority in part because a European "outsider" was emotionally able to make a diagnosis and to proffer a therapy which none but a minority of the most emancipated native white investigators could have reached. The UNESCO "tensions" project, by contrast, suffers certain disadvantages because the research specialists are all drawn from representatives of the "victorious allies" in the late unpleasantness; trained and competent social scientists from the defeated Axis populations are pointedly excluded from dealing with a problem area where only the most grossly prejudiced would deny they have much to contribute.

Non Sequitur

What the Hoult thesis really shows—and for that reminder critical and mature pacifists will be grateful—is that 1. *Some* pacifists have employed weak, vulnerable, or trivial arguments in defending their views about a concrete conflict situation when challenged by keen and convinced "militarists"; and 2. The attainment and maintenance of a consistent and persistent pacifism during an age when propagandistic pressures are exceptionally severe is difficult in any event and apparently possible only for persons whose total life conditions create and support ethical characters of unusual sturdiness. Conscious pacifism, like the ability to pass a course in calculus, emerges late in the career of most growing organisms (where it emerges at all); and as one of the latest "skills" to be acquired, it is also presumably one of the first to be lost in times of stress. Hughlings Jackson's famous law of neurological deterioration apparently applies here: good judgment, which is one of the last traits to be exhibited in intellectual development, is likewise less firmly grounded within the structure of behavior and therefore tends to go first whenever the mind collapses. Abandoning pacifism is consequently to some extent a form of regression to a more primitive level of conduct and not an ascent to higher ground. Preserving one's pacifism when the going gets rough is a bit like a top-flight artist redoubling his efforts to maintain his hardly-won mastery of a complex performance when so many factors are working to pull him down to the average plane.

The comforts of "respectable" conformity are not the least of these temptations, the strength of which much of standard sociological literature is engaged in describing. The pacifist is admittedly seeking to change the mores, for—contrary to Sumner—his insights on optimal individual or group conduct persuade him that, at least where the ancient and familiar resort to organized fear and violence as a "way of life" is concerned, our contemporary mores are *wrong,*

not right. And he feels their gross error so strongly that he is impelled to pay a substantial price in personal inconvenience to try to communicate via educational means that discernment to his fellows. He may even scorn to appear to "go along" with a war-making system, for that curious recommendation to be a hypocrite or a "borer from within" which Professor Hoult oddly finds grounded in scientific sociology would mean that disguised pacifists should infiltrate within the Nazi, Communist, and similar anti-pacifist movements as a means of converting them! This sort of double treason (to others and themselves) is not only of dubious morality but is clearly ineffective on strictly empirical grounds of the type acceptable to students of cultural phenomena.

I imagine most pacifists are modest enough to acknowledge their shortcomings in statistical theory and historical scholarship; but what evidence is there that a mastery of these fields reveals the untenability of the pacifist orientation? Charles A. Beard, our leading recent American historian, was notoriously anti-war at least as far as our nation's entry into the last catastrophe was concerned. Anthropologists report that the bloodiest tribal warfare among the vanishing native Australian blackfellows was labeled by them a "war to end war." I don't consider this odd anticipation of recent diplomatic language as *proof* that the most devastating conflicts are compulsively thus designated, but accept it as no more than an illuminating parallel.

Techniques for manipulating mass quantities, which is what mathematical statistics is in essence, become meaningful or applicable only when there is an hypothesis to be tested. *Pacifism supplies exactly such a fruitful source of hypotheses required for significant social experimentation.* It declares, among other things, that war destroys more values than it preserves or creates, *when all mankind is considered.* A social science which would grapple professionally with the intricate issues of value measurement has an opportunity to confirm or disprove this hypothesis, but one merely confined to the cobbelstone counting school of research on trivia is barred in advance from struggling constructively with such a task.

The Scientific Reaction?

Most pacifists would agree with Professor Hoult that there is much in our culture "worth saving" and that the tradition of individual freedom is one of our most precious cultural resources; but even assuming that certain "unfree" societies (as distinct from their governments) are composed mainly of vicious liars and crooks who threaten our welfare, *is* it the most scientific reaction to use lies, thievery, and brutality in dealing with them? What does that make of the scientific sociologists who do just that (as incidentally occurred in the OSS, the OWI, and many other official wartime agencies)? And how scientific is any applied discipline that rests upon deliberate deceit, outright falsehoods, and the systematic apology for large-scale mass murder? Will those who do not hesitate to kill to win some presumptive advantage be deterred by any scruples in employing deliberate inaccuracies in furthering their ends? Can any science other than a military-political *technology for enslaving* men's minds

and bodies—the very result Professor Hoult most fears—be built on such a basis?

Indeed the most thoroughly damaging charge that could possibly be hurled against contemporary social science is that its findings do constitute a "rational" warrant for war—for is this not the precise if unexpressed equivalent of the Hoult claim that sociological data and conclusions are anti-pacifist in nature?

Scientific method is itself at bottom founded on moral convictions, e.g., that knowledge is better than ignorance, truth than untruth, precision than guesswork, etc. The most enduring feature of science is not its "facts" or specific procedures which are progressively altered by researches, but its spirit of inquiry, or General Method. Just because of its concern with the *whole* truth rather than *partial* truths represented by the contestants in a war or related conflict, pacifism reflects clearly the temper of Science at its best in the involved field of human relations. In this respect it is far more scientific than much of what passes for "science," social or otherwise, at the present time.

HOULT... *Continued*

culture is such, it has been found, that it can make the human personality the very opposite from what most laymen consider "natural." Even the so-called "instinct" of sex temperament can be directed so that in some societies (the Tchambuli of New Guinea, for example) men are what we would call effeminate and women are the aggressors. This is considered the ideal in Tchambuli society, and is just as "natural" as is our arrangement.

In each culture, methods of action are almost invariably so powerfully entrenched that when they are challenged too directly, they do not change, as pacifists fondly hope, but become more hardened and set in their accepted ways. It is an axiom in sociology that "the mores can make anything right." Therefore, when pacifists parade and symbolically put on hair shirts by going to prison, etc., thus sharply defying the system they wish to change, they may, ironically, merely intensify the power of the old ways. Pacifists would do well to examine their beliefs in the light of cross-cultural facts—they would find that appearing to "go along" with a system, using subtle pressures only, has been found to effect far more radical and long-lasting changes than have direct challenges.

The scientific approach to social problems sheds light on other pacifist beliefs. Objective analysis has shown clearly that simple evaluations of social ills are always naively inadequate—thus, the Technocrat is as ill-informed as is the member of the WCTU. Pacifists reveal their one-sided wishful thinking (and here, as elsewhere, I draw on my own experience as well as on the various "bibles" of pacifist writing) when they generalize from a few particulars. It is reported by Richard Gregg that Hungary won many concessions from Austria in the 19th Century by a program of civil disobedience, and immediately pacifists say "Why can't it happen here?" completely ignoring the cultural and historical factors which made the Hungarian experience unique. Pacifists examine the Indian results, but remain unaware that it was the

culture of India, as well as that of her foe, and these alone, which made her successful in her pacifist struggle. India would, a study of cultures makes clear, have had quite a different experience if she had been dealing with the German or Russian cultures and their traditionally accepted procedures.

Also, most social reformists fail to search out all the facts, and never do they test their conclusions by known reliable statistical techniques to see if chance has been eliminated. Pacifists are fond of stating that the dictatorial methods inevitably used even by democratic governments during war will lead eventually to dictatorship in all countries during peace. But it has been found, for example, that the remarkable democracy among certain African tribes, also abrogated during their wars, has not led to permanent autocracy despite their recurring experience of alternating dictatorship-democracy over the centuries. Centralization among the western European governments and that of the United States admittedly increases during periods of war—but this is not solely a result of war, but also a reflection of the world-wide trend toward increased social control made necessary by expanding populations and by the technological complications of the modern world.

Finally, pacifists close their eyes to certain historical realities—the most pertinent one being the fact that when one is dealing with a culture long accustomed to the use of violence and authoritarianism, one is merely inviting the same treatment by proposing to meet aggression by such cultures with methods which are alien to them. "But," argues the pacifist, "in the long run our methods would win over the violent." But who can say, if he be objective, what will *actually* happen "in the long run"? We and our children live in the short run and it is only this we can know for certain. The future will care for itself if we can but control the present.

Realities

This means, of course, that we are caught in an unfortunate cycle of cause and effect. It means that if we value the ways of our culture (by "ways of our culture" I mean our respect for individual freedom, as far as it goes, which I assume is worth preservation) then we must take account of realities. The realities are, in the first place, that there are certain political-economic systems in power in the world which would destroy our tradition of freedom if they could, by force of arms if necessary. Secondly, it is obvious that blunders are made by powerful presidents, premiers and congresses in all countries—blunders which lead to war. But if we throw up our hands and say "they made the mistakes, let them do the fighting," we cut our proverbial noses from our proverbial faces. The point is that even if blunders which lead to war are made, if there is still something about our culture worth saving, then we must deal with the short run in the only way known to succeed against arms on a mass scale—and that means arms. "Arms" does not covertly imply blanket approval of unbridled militarism, but it does mean that we must accommodate ourselves to the scientific fact that cultures must be dealt with in at least an approximation of their own values if there is to be any hope of success with them. Such a program may well lead to disaster—but so would

enslavement under a culture in which there is no regard for the individual. The pacifist says, "War leads to war." The scientific sociologist says, "So does slavery."

These are the reasons, the cultural facts of life, why sociologists are seldom found among the ranks of absolute pacifists. They are also the reasons why sociologists, who devote their lives to the objective study of society and to the real possibilities of social control, feel that the pacifist position is unrealistic for those who are not committed *a priori* to a series of half-truths, the deficiencies of which are glaringly evident in the light of science. The pacifist truths are "half-" not because they are false or have no value, but because they are not usually related to the total scheme of things. The pacifist, like all persons committed to a particular program, is inclined to search out evidence which supports his position and to ignore or reject all the rest. This is the basic reason why sociologists worthy of the term "scientific" have examined the pacifist commitment and have found it wanting in important respects.

Clichés for an Anarchist in the Present Tense

Somebody's got to go to work and stick out his neck
saw off that limb
make the plunge
out of the frying pan . . .
I stick out my neck
you reply with tongue
break the ice
pioneer,
invent
make the plunge.

What are you waiting for?
I'm not going to be first
You go ahead
Why don't we count one-two-three, and then . . .
I'll give you every possible consideration
I might even push you
That would involve me too.
I'm one hundred percent in back of you
Please stand in front of me.
I don't mind your back.
After you.

If we had any guts
we'd be right in there pitching too
If there were only more like yourself
Fellows like them keep democracy safe.
I'm not quite ready yet.
I'd do it myself only you know how it is
Maybe I'm just weak
The Doctor says . . .
Still,
What I really should do is tell them all to go to hell
and then jump.

Quick like,
before I change my mind.
Well, what are you waiting for?
I'll do everything in my power
to see you get the fair trial.
They can't do any more than hang you.
You live only once
What have I got to lose?
Just everything, that's all.

But I know how you feel
You got to do this.
Just remember,
we're all rooting.
I'll hold your coat; your wife
I envy you.
I envy your capital G-U-T-S
Don't mention this conversation to a soul.

—CURTIS ZAHN

THE TENSIONS AND FRUSTRATIONS OF LIFE IN PRISON ARE THE THEME OF

Occoquan Record

By WINIFRED RAWLINS

AS A RESULT of the demonstration at the French Embassy in Washington on October 4, all twelve of us taking part were arrested. We were taken first to the precinct station, and later in the afternoon to the central police headquarters where we went through the usual processes of being finger-printed, weighed and measured, etc. During all this time the police had used no roughness and had behaved civilly. They had allowed press reporters and photographers to come and go freely at the precinct station.

We had all agreed not to accept bail ($100 each) but to be incarcerated overnight until our case came up the next day. I was the only woman in the group, and was taken by police car to the Women's Bureau, or House of Detention. I was impressed on the journey by the coarse nature of the conversation between the policewoman and the driver.

Next morning we were taken to the Court House and put in the "bull pen," which slowly emptied as cases were called in the courtroom. Finally we demonstrators were heard, and all pleaded guilty, "according to the technical meaning of the term." A. J. Muste was allowed to make a short explanation, and we were sentenced to a $25 fine or 30 days. Because of a long-standing personal conviction that it is better, in a case of the "Satyagraha" type, to go to jail than to pay fines, I chose to serve 30 days.

I was locked into a cell for what seemed a very long time, perhaps because by this time I was hungry. It was probably from about 11:30 to 4:00. I spent the time in meditation, finding the Buddhist formulas on love and tranquillity especially helpful. At last the door clanged open, and I was taken in a police wagon to the District jail.

More finger-printing, bathing, hair-washing. Here again I was impressed by the physical cleanliness. The standard of hygiene seemed to me equal to the average hospital. (I could not help comparing this with Holloway Prison in London, where sanitation and medical service was deplorable. Perhaps it is unfair to compare wartime standards with the present time, but still I think this country must be farther advanced in this respect.)

After staying overnight, I was told suddenly that I was to be transferred that morning to the Women's Reformatory at Occoquan, Virginia. Half an hour later I was one of a busload of men and women being taken down under armed police escort.

The Women's Reformatory at Occoquan, where I spent the remaining 28 days of my sentence, is a branch of the Lorton Peniten-

tiary for men. It is an "open" type of prison, with no walls, and glorious virgin forest can be seen from the buildings. Inmates are allowed a considerable degree of freedom in going from one building to another unattended.

Short-Term Prison

On one side of the main drive is the Men's Workhouse, where about seven hundred short-term prisoners are kept, working mainly in the open air. On the other side is the Women's Reformatory. This is a group of brick-walled, stone-floored buildings, built round three sides of a grass quadrangle. On one side are the long-term prisoners and "lifers," including thirty or forty convicted of murder, and here the usual barred cells are used. Here also are the punishment cells, known as usual as "the hole."

On the opposite side is a building containing two dormitories for short-term prisoners (up to about three years). In our dormitory about fifty women slept. A few longer term inmates had cubicles along the side of the room, the rest slept in beds in the middle of the room almost touching one another.

Leading out of the dormitory was a sitting-room where inmates spent the non-working hours. Across a small lobby where the custodians, or matrons sit was a similar sitting-room and dormitory housing up to seventy-five Negro women.

The noise in the sitting-room, amounting sometimes to pandemonium, where fifty or so women smoke, play cards, talk and quarrel can only be imagined. Often the radio was turned on at full blast without anyone knowing whether it was on or not! In the same way the commotion at night made it very difficult to sleep, with women coughing and snoring and talking in their sleep and swearing at the coughers! For the first few nights I didn't do more than doze and grew increasingly tired, then nature asserted itself and I slept fairly normally. Only I had fantastic dreams, occasioned probably by the lights which are left on all night in the dormitories, bright enough to read by.

The Superintendent, a progressive woman, told me that she hated the dormitory system, but that it was built like that and she could do nothing about it. Obviously much had changed during her time, though she had had to struggle for every reform. One heard talk of riots previous to her coming, when the guards had to be called over from the men's side, with consequent broken heads. Under her direction drapes had been put to the windows in the sitting-rooms, and other feminine touches.

I was again impressed by the high standard of cleanliness. However, unless you have money to your credit which you can spend at the canteen it is almost impossible to get a toothbrush. No articles of any kind are allowed to be sent in from outside, except money. Incoming letters, which of course are censored, are unlimited, but short term inmates are allowed to write only once every two weeks.

One cannot help feeling that psychological conditions are far behind the physical. Attempts are made to teach hand work, but shortage of staff and the discouragement of any initiative on the part of the inmates makes it somewhat superficial.

All the women who are not doing the general work of the institution are sent to the Art Room. Here one instructress-custodian grapples with fifty to sixty women of all types and abilities. There is some good equipment. Those who have real ability and experience can, if they are lucky, work on the four looms or do clay modelling or advanced embroidery. Others are set to work making simple garments at the sewing-machines. (I was one of these more fortunate ones.) Others again just sit and do nothing. Many of those with very short terms just sit most of the time, from 7:30 to 11:30 and 12:00 to 3:20. One couldn't escape the feeling that the yarn and the knitting needles (always in short supply) were as important as the women. Joy in responsible work was a far-away concept.

Frustration

I have a picture in my mind of one rather sullen, deaf woman who was persuaded to learn to knit. She was given a mitten pattern, and for days she struggled, with gradually awakening interest, and finally produced a mitten. "Yes," said the instructress, "that's all right, but now I'm afraid you'll have to undo it. We need the yarn to finish a rug." The woman looked at her, blankly and unbelievingly. The instructress must have felt a twinge of compassion. "Well," she said, "it's been practice for you. You've never made a mitten before, have you?" "No," said the woman, in a dull, flat voice, slowly unravelling her work of many days, "and I'll never make another one."

Another time there were several beginners awkwardly trying to cope with needles and yarn. The instructress had no time to attend to them. I had done nothing for some hours, and offered to teach them. It was not allowed. "Just sit still," I was told.

Should I Obey?

I had a hard tussle with myself over this question of obedience. To what should one be obedient? Was it pure self-will in me that rebelled, or was rebellion justifiable? The important thing seemed to be to achieve a relationship of goodwill with the instructress. Prayer offered itself as the best medium, and there was a definite result. I saw an occasion of impatience on my part for which I could reasonably apologize. At the same time she made a gesture of friendliness towards me. From that time on there was no more strain.

My mind was also occupied about segregation. I was surprised to find how little there was. With the exception of being in separate dormitories, and, because we were seated according to dormitories, eating at different tables, there was free mixing. Negro and white stood in the same lines to get food, mixed freely at work and at exercise. And yet I had to show in some way that I did not accept it at all. The only point where I felt I could make a small gesture was in the use of washrooms. A "Colored" and a "White" washroom was provided for each workroom. From the beginning I used them indiscriminately. In spite of continued warnings from other prisoners that I would get into trouble, no notice was ever taken, though it must have been observed. Probably the authorities did not want to raise the issue.

Another matter of concern to many people was the cooking. The food that went into the kitchen was good. Although we had very little fruit there were plenty of vegetables, but everything was cooked in large quantities of pork fat. We had very little exercise. With the exception of walking from one building to another several times a day, we were only allowed outside about once a week, apparently because it took too many matrons to look after us. This, coupled with the very fatty food meant that one's internal processes almost ceased functioning normally, and most people only kept out of the hospital by taking drastic pills every Friday night. In quantity there was adequate food for everyone, with unlimited bread and syrup always on the table.

Recreation

Another rather amusing result of being in an "open" prison was the necessity of being counted at least six times a day. If the count at mealtime didn't tally, everyone had to sit indefinitely while anxious matrons counted again and again, making it come out differently each time! Most of the matrons were on good terms with the inmates, and one or two would even take a hand in a game of cards occasionally.

Every Friday there was a movie, and on one or two evenings a week some elementary classes for any who wanted to attend.

On Hallowe'en night, the one night in the year when as many restrictions as possible are removed, there was a never-to-be-forgotten dance. Costumes were improvised from dramatic stock and official blind eyes turned from the most daring. As the evening wore on, and jitterbugging became more furious and people relaxed into their normal behavior, some of us learnt some new songs! Negroes and whites danced together, and the fact that there were only women there didn't seem to matter. The next day everyone was completely exhausted, being so unused to self-expression. Tempers flared, and one or two inmates were sent to the "hole." But everyone seemed to think it had been worth it, and the custodians breathed freely again.

On Sundays Mass was celebrated for the Catholics and any others who wished to go, and a Protestant service was held in the afternoon. This last was compulsory, except in special cases such as Jews. I found both helpful, especially the Mass, which by its nature is more independent of circumstances. Celebrated as it was in the little bare chapel, it led me far closer to spiritual experience than the average church service.

The Protestant chaplain is young, earnest and well liked. He has an almost impossible task. "All I can do is to preach to people in crowds," he told me. He has charge of four large prisons. In the men's workhouse at Occoquan alone 10,000 men pass through every year. I spoke to him of my conviction that personal counselling aimed at bringing about a spiritual or psychological "conversion," and strengthening the resources of the will, was needed above all things in the Reformatory. He entirely agreed, and said they were working for a full-time chaplain for each institution. I was told there was a psychologist attached to the

District of Columbia prisons, but none of the inmates seemed to have had any experience of him.

Gradually the truth is brought home to one that what makes life in jail unlike any other experience is the cumulative burden of misery and despair in the minds of the inmates. Every jail experience is in some degree a descending into hell. Whatever the physical or even psychological conditions of the institution, the mind of the prisoner remains the place where battles are won or lost. Here is material to challenge the wisest psychiatrists or spiritual guides, and yet so little is done to help.

The long weekends without occupation are occasions for endless recountings of trials and legal quibbles and also of methods of crime. The most depraved continually corrupt the more innocent. The most pitiful example of all are the alcoholics, who make up perhaps 75 per cent of the short term prisoners. Everyone knows that nothing is done for them in jail, yet judges continue to send them. Some of them had been coming to Occoquan over a period of ten years. One had been thirteen times already. Some were released during the time I was there, only to come down again the next Thursday on the bus from the city jail. Behind nearly all these "cases" lies a story of utter human misery, broken homes, loss of respect, desertion by husband or lover. During their drinking bouts they nearly always lose everything, clothes, room, job. When they are released they are in most cases literally sent out to the streets, in whatever inadequate clothes they may have been arrested in. Many of them unless they are persons of almost superhuman resolve, have only three choices open to them before nightfall: to find a man to live with, to go into a tavern and wait until drinks are offered them, or to sit in a park. In the event of the second they will probably be picked up again by the police, who are already on the lookout for those who are known to them. True, there is the Salvation Army Hostel, but one can only stay there three nights. One woman said, "I can't face all that religion. The contrast with this place is too much."

Corroding Possessiveness

One hears stories of police brutality. Whether it is true one cannot tell. Certainly many come in black and blue, and with recent wounds, but they may have been self-inflicted under intoxication.

Enforced austerity seems to increase possessiveness. The smallest article is treasured fiercely. I had knitted a pair of gloves for one woman, and failed to give her back a little piece of yarn that was left over. Later one of the other inmates, an elderly woman, came to me in a state of extreme agitation. "Have you lost any yarn?" she whispered. "No," I said, not realizing that I had let it drop somewhere. Presently she came back again, tears running down her face. "Are you *sure* you haven't lost any?" She beckoned me into a corner of the wash house, where no one could see us, and fearfully uncovered the tiny ball of yarn. "Don't tell anyone unless it's necessary," she begged, "I could use it!" But she knew I had to give it back to its owner, and had only disclosed it because she was afraid I would come in for unpleasantness if

it were lost. "I wouldn't do it for everyone," she sobbed. A conflict of major moral significance had been going on in her overwrought mind.

Another time, wanting to show some friendship towards the most feared and disliked woman in the dormitory, a homicidal maniac who spent her time mainly between mental hospital and jail, I gave her a few safety pins and a pencil, which I had no more need of. She was so overcome that she at once took me to her cubicle and presented me with a fancy handkerchief which she had taken hours to make.

For me, one of the drawbacks of crowded conditions was the lack of any quietness for meditation. I used to spend the second half of each meal in this way, talking being forbidden. One day the Superintendent noticed that I was meditating, and told me that I could have permission to use the chapel each day if I wished. So from that time I had a half-hour period before supper, which I valued greatly. Those who wrote to me, and those who visited me on Sundays, were a great source of strength to me. Many of the women never had either a visitor or a letter. One of the matrons who was very kind in her attitude towards me, couldn't resist lending me her official handbook which was issued to all the employees of the Washington Penal Department. In it there was a frank and revealing statement to this effect, though I have forgotten the exact words:

"In our institutions we carry out the wishes of the public regarding the treatment of offenders. The public expects three things of its penal policy: (1) punishment, (2) deterrence, (3) education. These three aims are contradictory. Until this confusion is cleared up in the public mind our work will be comparatively ineffective."

I have been asked several times whether the other prisoners understood my own position. Some understood completely, (not always the well-educated), some thought I was crazy or must have been drunk at the time of my arrest, some were vaguely indignant with the powers that be that I should be there at all, not being guilty in the usual sense. I did not in any case talk much about it. The last thing one wants to do is to emphasize any "difference." One's position is, in a sense, a delicate one. And when one really gets down to rock-bottom any sense of difference begins to fade. What one begins to realize instead is that it takes a higher degree of courage to face a long and outwardly unproductive sentence cheerfully and patiently when one has nothing but the memory of one's own foolishness or wrongdoing to recall, than it does to serve 30 days with a good grace supported by the knowledge of a worthwhile cause and a host of loving friends outside. These first, and there are not a few at Occoquan, are really heroic.

Reaper's Query

Can the crop never be exchanged
After it is growing?
Is all the choice interred with seed
At the time of sowing?

—Franklin Zahn

News from the Peace Front

F.O.R. Conference Hears Raven, Considers Peace Plan, Caravans

More than 300 registered delegates and as many as 700 pacifist and nonpacifist visitors made the 35th-anniversary FOR National Conference last month one of the most vigorous of postwar years. Meeting in the First Methodist Church of Evanston, Illinois, September 8 through 10, the conference followed hard on the heels of a preliminary four-day study conference held at Garrett Biblical Institute in the same city and attended by about seventy-five persons.

Gathering in the tense atmosphere of a nation more than half resigned to the inevitability and imminence of a third global war, delegates found their discussions sharpened by the clear need to relate them to the fighting going on in Korea and looming ominously in many other parts of the world.

Canon Raven Welcomed

Guest speakers and leaders at both the conference proper and the earlier study sessions included several outstanding pacifist and nonpacifist personalities, but most notably Canon Charles E. Raven of England. Canon Raven, who is honorary chairman of the British FOR, master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and until recently vice-chancellor (president) of Cambridge University, captured the affection and respect of everyone with his quick wit, incisive thinking, and pungently direct speech.

Others who made notable contributions to the conference were Professor Channing Liem, a Korean who is a member of the faculty of the Pennsylvania College for Women; Professor Maynard Krueger, of the University of Chicago and twice Socialist candidate for the vice-presidency of the United States; Ralph Templin, of Wilberforce College and Yellow Springs, Ohio; Clarence Jordan, of Koinonia Farm in Alabama; Charles Bell, Baptist minister whose church is in Madison, Wisconsin; and Bernard C. Clausen, former minister of the First Baptist Church of Pittsburgh and Euclid Avenue Baptist Church of Cleveland and now doing religious programs on television. Dr. Harold Bosley, who had just assumed the pastorate of the First Methodist Church, spoke with Canon Raven at the opening session on Friday evening.

Opening Well Attended

This Friday session, which opened the conference proper, brought about 1,000 persons to the church sanctuary, more than 400 of whom moved to the "Great Hall" for a discussion period following the service.

Dr. Bosley preached a moving sermon on the contrast between the two forms of worship of our time: the belief that "power is god" and the faith that "God is power."

Canon Raven followed with an explicit spelling out of what pacifism is and the nature of the prob-

lems with which it must grapple. Observing that war itself is the overarching problem of our day, he pointed out that three other tension areas out of which war grows also require the ministry of reconciliation. These he summed up in Paul's admonition that "in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female," and warned that the seeds of conflict are to be found in the injustice suffered by minority races, the hunger and helplessness of economically exploited peoples, and the depressed status of hundreds of millions of women in the world.

Full Schedule Followed

Saturday was a full day, beginning with a worship service led by Dr. John Oliver Nelson, national FOR chairman. The rest of the morning and afternoon were devoted to brief presentations of major issues confronting pacifists, by Messrs. Bell, Clausen, Jordan and Templin, followed by group discussions. A "fellowship supper" preceded an evening session on Korea, at which Profs. Liem and Krueger and A. J. Muste, national secretary of the FOR, spoke. Close to 500 were present for this meeting and the question period that followed. An hour of folk dancing rounded out the day.

The conference closed formally with the adoption of several resolutions Sunday morning and attendance at the morning worship service in the church, with Canon Raven again preaching.

Study Conference Preceded

The pre-Conference study sessions began Tuesday afternoon, September 5, and continued through Friday morning, at Garrett. In theory, morning sessions were devoted to discussion of general pacifist strategy; afternoons to techniques of operating within local groups and evenings to problems of personal pacifism. Practically, it was found difficult to maintain the distinction throughout, and the strategy discussions tended to slop over into the other sessions.

As usual at pacifist conferences, there was considerable interest in the question of whether any efforts at preventing war are feasible within the present political framework, or whether the pacifist function is realistic only within the area of conscientious refusal to participate in war, tax refusal, non-registration, fasts, "evangelistic" efforts, and other "revolutionary" activities. As usual, also, both positions were defended vigorously and no common conclusion was reached.

"Peace Program" Discussed

From the point of view of specific actions recommended, two subjects dominated both the study sessions and the conference proper.

First of these, which set off a lively debate that lasted for several hours in the study conference, was a proposed "peace plan" intended to reverse the present trend toward war. As finally formulated, it consisted of four points:[1]

1. An offer by the United States of its huge stock of surplus food for the relief of some 70 million starving people in northeast China. The food would be transported to China without charge, and its distribution left entirely in the hands

[1] A complete copy of the proposal may be obtained from the national office on request.

of the Chinese People's Republic (Communist) government.

2. The United States would introduce in the United Nations a resolution calling on all member states to contribute men and supplies to the work of flood-control now being rushed by the Chinese government in an attempt to prevent an even worse famine next year.

3. The United States would invite all existing governments to a conference on world disarmament and the diversion of money now used for arms to famine relief and similar work throughout the world.

4. The Christian Church and other private agencies would be urged to express their grief and penitence over the destruction being poured on Korea and to ask that every possible peace plan be explored with a view to ending the fighting at the earliest possible moment; and to begin at once recruiting volunteers and raising money to begin reconstruction work in Korea immediately on the cessation of hostilities.

Both the study conference and the national conference recommended the plan to the Executive Committee of the FOR for careful consideration with a view to enlisting church and other groups behind it. A retreat of the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship a week later also endorsed the program. The delegates recognized the difficulties in the way of having any such plan adopted, but felt that it offered a specific alternative behind which people who believe in feeding one's enemy might rally.

Caravans Recommended

The other principal resolution had to do with continuing the "peace caravan" work begun during the past summer.[2] Several young people at the conference indicated interest in giving six months or a year of their time to carry on such work in as many areas as could be covered. The conference recommended this also to the Executive Committee.

Members of the staff from the national office present at the conference were Martha Higashida, Constance Muste, Catharine Raymond, Ruth Steenburgh, Alfred Hassler, George Houser, A. J. Muste, Bayard Rustin, and John Nevin Sayre. Other staff members present were Albert Watson of the Midwest office, who handled all arrangements for the conference; Charles Walker, Middle Atlantic; and Orval Etter, Far West.

Conference Actions

In addition to the resolutions on the "peace plan" and caravans, the national conference adopted the following:

1. Asked the Executive Committee to study a program of assistance to COs and their dependents.

2. Asked for increased emphasis on local group activities.

3. Expressed deep concern for the preservation of civil liberties.

4. Called for a balanced private-cooperative-public ownership economy to eliminate warmaking competition.

5. Endorsed the Executive Committee statement on "united fronts" and urged further study of the subject by all members.

6. Asked for a committee to study nonregistration, world citizenship, tax refusal, and volunteer service projects.

[2] See "Pacifists on Soap Boxes," by Constance Muste. FELLOWSHIP, September, 1950.

Overheard at Evanston

I came here with a tremendous sense of urgency. What you in the United States are thinking and doing will determine our destiny.—*Canon Raven*

We must face the possibility of being more than frowned on by our neighbors. I hope that out of this conference we will gain really a vision of our task and will be stricken with the emergency and the urgency of the situation.—*George Houser*

If another war comes it will mean civil war in France and Germany.—*John Nevin Sayre*

I cannot understand why this great people (in the U.S.) seems to be so hag-ridden by the fear of communism. If such a thing (as making professors sign a loyalty pledge) had happened in Britain, every man in a college or university would have downed tools immediately.—*Canon Raven*

Those who believe that power is god are giving their time, their money and energy, their very lives. If we who believe that God is power do not do as much, the decision is already in.—*Harold Bosley*

Nonviolent direct action takes a latent problem and brings it to the surface at a point where you can deal with it. To some people this seems like making trouble.—*Charles Walker*

The outbreak of a global war will mean the end of Europe. We are very poor, we are very tired—we cannot stand the strain of so much as six weeks of war.—*Canon Raven*

In Communist-dominated countries they have about as much religious freedom as 90% of our church people use.—*Robert Gemmer*

No more than Congress, as it is at present, is going to vote any of the things we feel are important, are we, as we are at present, going to do anything creative.—*A. J. Muste*

Do we pacifists recognize the real problem? Not only are the people around us without hope. We pacifists are without hope too. —*George Houser*

We in the U.S. don't seem to believe in ideas, or that ideas move people.—*John Nevin Sayre*

We have to show that we are for the social revolution and against the economic and political and social status quo. We have to say No to this nationalism which is becoming more than demonic. We must make it clear that we are world citizens and not any more citizens of this nation state. If we have hesitations at this point about the cost then we are already defeated. —*A. J. Muste*

Russia does not want a war in Europe and, in spite of opportunity after opportunity, has not started one there. The Russians are much more afraid of war than we are, therefore they are much more provocative. However, if the United States insists on interfering in Asia and trying to reimpose Chiang on China, Russia will certainly fight. And in that case no one in Asia would support the United States.—*Canon Raven*

Reports Progress on Houses for Hiroshima

In the middle of June a group of three Americans and six Japanese students arrived in Hiroshima for the second year's work on Houses for Hiroshima, reports Floyd Schmoe, director of the project. Their plan was to build a Model House for the city, designed by a local architect and built Japanese style, and to build a new surgical wing for the Hiroshima Memorial Hospital. The house was under way quickly, but the hospital was in process of being sold, and it seemed best to build more houses rather than to wait for arrangements with the hospital to be completed. On a beautiful site near Hiroshima Bay, provided by the government, they now have a Peace Village of seven small houses, and the Model House won a Ministry of Construction award.

In early August the group went to Nagasaki to build a Model House for that city. All of the houses were open for inspection before being allocated by the government to selected families most in need of them.

Relief Funds from Handiwork Sale

An extremely useful and effective way of raising money for relief has been worked out by M. Imogene Sanborn, FOR member of 2545 Valentine Avenue, New York City 58. The sale of handiwork donated for the purpose brings in funds which go for badly needed relief to the Foreign Section of the AFSC. If you knit, sew, crochet, paint or work in leather, give one of the products of your hands to the sale. If you are not a handicraftsman, any gift which can be sold will be gratefully received by Miss Sanborn.

Health Center Seeks Second Doctor

The Celo Health Center, located at Celo Community in North Carolina, is looking for a second physician for its staff. The Health Center is a well-equipped clinic for diagnostic and medical therapeutic work in an area of inadequate medical services, where five physicians serve a county population of 16,000. The Center would like to find another physician who is interested in general practice with a liking for preventive medicine, health education and the broader social aspects of health.

Celo Community, located in Burnsville, North Carolina, was founded more than ten years ago under the inspiration of Arthur E. Morgan, Clarence Pickett and William Regnery. It is an experimental attempt to express in all aspects of daily life purposes very similar to those of the FOR.

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Africans May Appeal to UN

Since it was taken over by white men in the Eighteenth Century of imperialist expansion, South Africa has suffered the pangs of racial unrest. The old easy assumption of white superiority has not passed, as it has in many countries, into a gradual acceptance of the principle of equality. On the contrary, its governments have imposed increasing discriminatory restrictions on the non-white population.

In the Union of South Africa today there are about 8,000,000 Africans, something over 2,000,000 whites, and about 300,000 Indians. In the Union elections the 2,000,000 white Europeans elect 146 representatives to the parliament, the non-white population four, and those four are Europeans. In South West Africa, which was made a protectorate of South Africa by the League of Nations, the white one-tenth of the population elects six representatives to the Union House of Assembly, while the non-white nine-tenths has no representatives at all.

In 1947 the Rev. Michael Scott, pacifist and FOR member, an Anglican clergyman who has lived and worked among the South Africans, came to this country to plead before the United Nations for the rights of the people of South Africa. Held up in London trying to get a visa from our State Department, he arrived after sessions were over.

The Trusteeship Committee had for the second time recommended a trusteeship for South West Africa, and refused South Africa's request for permission to annex it. In October, 1948, Scott journeyed to Paris and presented his case to the General Assembly, with much the same results. The South African government flatly refused the UN recommendation for trusteeship of South West Africa, and declared that they did not "consider themselves accountable to the United Nations Organization, the Government of the United Kingdom, or to the British Commonwealth" in the matter.

In May, 1948, the none-too-liberal Smuts Government in South Africa had been supplanted by that of Dr. Daniel F. Malan, who campaigned on the basis of *apartheid*, or segregation of the races. This government vigorously opposed allowing Scott to speak to the UN, accused the UN of a "mania for interference," and declared "We are not going to throw South West Africa to the wolves." When at long last, after waiting in New York from August until the end of November, Michael Scott was permitted to speak to the Trusteeship Committee, the South African delegate boycotted the session. After hearing Scott, the Committee decided to commit the question of South West Africa to the Court of International Justice at The Hague. This summer the Court handed down its decision, which held that South Africa had obligations to the UN in respect to South West Africa; that it should submit reports on South West Africa to the UN, (which it had refused to do); that the peoples of South West Africa should have the right to petition the UN, (of which South Africa had deprived them); and that any further dispute about the administration of South West Africa must be referred to the International Court of Justice. In view of the decision, the UN General Assembly placed South West Africa on its fall agenda.

The disapproval expressed on all sides of its policies, particularly the highly discriminatory racial laws, had no effect on South Africa's government, however. In the latter part of June the Group Areas Bill became law, classifying the population as Europeans (whites), Natives (Negroes), and Colored (Asiatics), and giving the government power to set aside any area of the country as a group area in which only one of these groups can live and own property. Negroes are already so severely restricted that it will affect mainly the Indian population, who, if they live in an area designated white, will have to sell their property to Europeans and move to an Indian area.

As a result of this, the Indian government informed the Union government that it felt participation in the proposed UN round table conference to discuss the problems of Indians in South Africa would be pointless.

Time and Catholic Policy on COs

The stand of most Catholic theologians on fighting is based on a distinction between just and unjust wars. As to individual conscientious objectors, they are not numerous, but have generally been tolerated and in some cases accorded official recognition. Last spring, however, *Time* magazine announced that the Church had "made it clear that Catholic Conscientious Objectors are theologically in error." *Time* quoted from "Rome's official Jesuit fortnightly, *Civilta Cattolica,*" whose lead article denounced the absolutist pacifist position as totally in error, and declared that the citizen is obligated to "the indispensable service of picking up arms . . . in defense of his community menaced by unjust aggression."

"In case there should be any thought that Father Messineo [the author of the article] was merely venting his own theological opinions," *Time* continued, "a Vatican spokesman said: 'Messineo's article has rendered the church's stand absolutely clear . . . it is certain that if this type of moral absenteeism . . . were to become widespread . . . the Pope would then intervene and give Messineo his full backing . . . .'"

Robert Ludlow, Catholic pacifist who is with the *Catholic Worker,* reports that *Time* called him before printing the story, read him Massineo's article, and asked him to write a reply, which, however, was omitted when the story was published. "The *Time* report . . . is a typical example of slanting the news to preconceived notions," Mr. Ludlow said. "The condemnation of COs was by one priest writing in a Jesuit magazine. It is in no way official, and, upon inquiry, *Time* discloses that they don't know who the 'Vatican spokesman' is, though they say their Rome correspondent undoubtedly does."

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Peace Action Abroad

Quakers Penetrate Bamboo Curtain

Impartial relief and medical work started by the Friends Service Unit in 1941 in China continues on both sides of the "bamboo curtain." Only the Friends' refusal to bear arms and their desire to help the common people made it possible for them to obtain necessary permissions to cross both Communist and Nationalist lines and break down suspicion. Communists had to be convinced that they were eager to help, although not Communists; that the workers were not missionaries, although Christians; that they would not fight, although they would treat wounded soldiers.

The medical team, of which Elizabeth Hughes is a member, went to Yenan, Communist "capital," in 1946, and worked in the First International Peace Hospital—the cave hospital. She writes that they were treated with great courtesy and received invitations to dances and parties from Party, Army and local Government celebrities.

When Nationalists attacked the town in 1947, the hospital and team withdrew to the countryside north of Yenan. For a year they walked from place to place as military needs dictated, setting up makeshift arrangements at each.

The Communists have occupied all of the important cities and coastline since those days of intense civil war, and F.S.U. projects and headquarters are now in Communist areas. Communication at this time is difficult but valuable work is still being done. It is hoped, writes Elizabeth Hughes, that when authority for travel to and from China is once more granted, medical supplies and personnel will be forthcoming.

Vernier May Face Prison

Philippe Vernier's work as a miner as well as that of pastor in a French Protestant church in Belgium, after his sudden release from imprisonment as a conscientious objector at the time of the fall of France, may suddenly be terminated. Police have been enquiring of him with a view to the completion of his sentence, which would mean for him another three years in a cell.

Children's Refuge

Muriel Lester speaks of Orlando, a well-built African township just outside Johannesburg, as a refuge for children. She found 65 there, from three weeks to eleven years of age; children abandoned in lavatories or on steps—some orphans, or with cruel parents, two of them mental defectives. At first she said the place had a bad reputation: too many deaths were registered. Then a young married English girl took over the place, ran it efficiently and changed the atmosphere to that of a large jolly family. African helpers fitted into the new setup—colored pictures were chalked on the walls, informal but beautiful graces were spoken or sung before meals and

each child was loved and made to feel secure. Muriel expressed her surprise and delight at finding that the English girl in charge proved to have been one of her own Kingsley Hall children.

Asks to Relinquish Swedish Nationality

A Swede named Anders Clarin has applied to the King to relinquish his Swedish nationality. In the course of his letter he says, "I consider that it is morally unjust to be bound in loyalty to a special ethnic group in preference to loyalty to all mankind. Consequently, I am unwilling to allow citizenship in any fully sovereign nation to compel me to obey or to share responsibility for any of its decisions which may be likely to lead it to wage war."

Many Russians Still Tolstoyans

There are still many Tolstoyans in Russia, reports Danish Aage Jorgensen, although there is no organized movement. Tolstoy's works are still the most widely read. Here as elsewhere the people should not be confused with the government.

Professor Chakravarty points to the reconciling influence of the American Quakers' gift of streptomycin for the Russian people and urges exploration of other possible gestures of friendship.

Occasional news comes directly from behind the "iron curtain" such as the following excerpt from a letter recently received in England:

"Thank you very much for sending me the *News Letters;* though I do not receive them regularly. . . .

"What a pity that no one from U.S.S.R. will be at the conference at Woudschoten this summer. Too many artificial barriers have been created between different countries, which do not allow us to see each other, but these barriers will never stop the spirit of Fellowship and Peace to cross all borders created by governments."

British Scientists Oppose Atom Weapons

Two of Britain's leading scientists have made known that they are not prepared to cooperate in the production of atomic weapons.

Dr. G. O. Jones of Oxford says, "If I am personally asked to help in developing super-bombs, I shall say, 'No, I am sorry, it is too disgusting.' "

Professor M. Born of the University of Edinburgh declares, "Scientists should organize themselves with the aim to outlaw the prostitution of science. Though I am too old to lead I should willingly join such a group, which might start with an attempt to formulate a code of behavior like that valid in medicine since the days of Hippocrates."

Protestants Protest

Fifty-nine Protestant missionaries in Japan and Korea protested Dr. Daniel A. Poling's statement following his visit to Asia that the U. S. should send "food, money, ships, planes and all required weapons to fight Communism there." They declared that "Asia is in dire need of economic, social and spiritual aids which will not be met by the sending of arms."

Jottings

Mark Shaw, Jr., FOR member, returned in August from four years with the Friends' Service Unit in China. For a year he directed work in Honan after the Communists had taken over the area.

* * *

Sir John Boyd-Orr has contributed a large portion of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1949, which he received, to a trust fund established by the National Peace Council of England for the purchase of a Peace House in London. The House will serve as a center for organizations working for international peace and world government, and half of the necessary sum has already been raised.

* * *

According to *Le Devoir*, a Catholic newspaper published in Montreal, Mr. Robert Lewis, former bombardier in the U.S. Air Force who pressed the button which released the atom bomb on Hiroshima, has entered a monastery because he has "lost his inner peace."

* * *

Segregation in city-owned pools in St. Louis was ordered to be ended in July by Judge Hulen of the United States District Court. Last summer an attempt to open these pools to both whites and Negroes resulted in rioting.

* * *

Davis House, an AFSC international residence in Washington, was forced to close in July after ten years because of a technical violation of zoning laws. Although no rent was charged for accommodations, contributions were accepted, and zoning officials claimed this made it a boarding house. The real basis for complaint is believed to be the fact that it was operated on an interracial basis. The House on Cedar Street, operated by Frank Olmstead, was closed a year ago by zoning authorities on identical grounds.

* * *

The Brethren Service Commission will form a 15-man emergency relief and reconstruction unit and will offer its services to the United Nations in the rehabilitation of Korea.

* * *

595 men registered as COs in Great Britain during 1949, compared with 404 in 1948 and 534 in 1947. In the ten and a half years since 1939, a total of 69,421 men have registered their objection to military service.

* * *

The Peace Association of Christian Scientists has published a small pamphlet of quotations on peace from the writings of Mary Baker Eddy. One of these is: "The vital part, the heart and soul of Christian Science, is Love."

* * *

Peter Maloff, Doukhobor who was imprisoned three times for refusal to register under the Canadian draft, a staunch pacifist, in May made a report on the Doukhobor problem and its possible solution to a Canadian government commission studying the situation.

Books

The Promises of God

A Man's Reach, by Glenn Clark. Harper and Brothers, 1949. 314 pp., $3.00.

Here is the autobiography of an American prophet who dips into his own life to tell us that we are starving, that we are living pinched and anemic lives in the midst of the most amazing plenty. The keynote of the book is that as he had to learn to act on the promises of God, he wants others to discover and to practice the same secret. "Looking back," he says, "I wish I could reclimb those stretches where I have faltered. When comes the day where we know even as also we are known, I am sure that our greatest embarrassment will lie in our faltering; we will be chagrined that we asked too little, claimed half-heartedly, paced off our preemption with too short a stride. We will stand amazed before our niggardly acceptance of God's great grace and laugh aloud at our lack of credulity. I never yet met a man of prayer who felt he had claimed too much for God. Also I never met anyone who consistently tried out the promises of Jesus and found they did not work."

The book is the story of his own growth into this continuous practice of the presence of God and tells of his college life, of his life with his family, of his career as a teacher at Macalester College for 28 years, many of which he coached the track team as well as taught the English Composition courses there, and of these recent years when he founded the Camps Farthest Out, when he became increasingly interested in the power of prayer for healing, and when he shared the companionship and working faith of men and women like George Washington Carver, Frank Laubach, Rufus Mozeley and Agnes Sanford.

One of the most interesting chapters to members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation will be his description of the attempt which was made to get President Roosevelt to accept the offer of a little circle of spiritually-minded men to hold him up in prayer and to counsel with him regularly. The President's refusal does not discredit either the motive or the wisdom of such an offer. He also tells the story of the determined attempt that was made by Stanley Jones and Rufus Jones together with Glenn Clark and others to stop the Japanese-American drift toward war. The recent Churchill memoirs vindicate in full Stanley Jones' insistence that the strongest party in Japan did not want war, and if given an opportunity for some positive and honorable way out, would have avoided it. Once again the failure of this brave and determined effort of Stanley Jones only underlines the rightness of spiritually-minded leaders continuing to discharge their prophetic functions, and the peril of a nation when they are received with a deaf ear.

At the risk of being classified as one of the people in our time "whose spiritual life is so anemic that when anyone comes along who has a healthy circulation they think that he has a fever," I think that it is important for readers of this book to realize that the line between the prayer for light and strength and the prayer for help to make *my* business a greater success is not drawn in this book of Glenn Clark's. The kind of movement which leads to prayer slithering off into magic, where man controls his God rather than laying himself at the feet of his God is perilously close to some sections of this book. In Glenn Clark himself, in Frank Laubach and in Agnes Sanford there is a Christian tradition and a quality of life and experience that keeps them from trespassing this line. Yet the hesitancy which many honestly feel about this approach lies in this field. The line is a hairline. Yet it is one where on one side stands Christ and his promises and on the other the daemonic lust for power and short-cuts that broods over man, especially man in as deep trouble as he stands today, and that is not to his healing. Intercessory prayer is a power that was never in history more needed than it is today and one thanks God for Glenn Clark's compelling witness to it and to its power, or to Frank Laubach's urging millions to pray for the United Nations, to pray for Russia, to pray for our own statesmen who so desperately need proper guidance. But to pass from other than a neat formula which we hold up to the "promises of God" to effective prayer for others, does this not call for a re-offering of ourselves first of all, does this not call for a repentance on our

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own part that must be so deep as to lead to suffering and transformation? When Pascal said that the only place the resurrected Christ would let his disciples touch him was in his wounds does not the secret of the power of the love that is in intercessory prayer begin to reveal itself? And is not this secret in terms of suffering? Is it not that only those who are willing really to suffer for others, to enter into their life, to see that the evil that is holding them captive is also in the pray-er himself and must first be driven out by God's Grace before the "promises of God" can be drawn upon? There are hints of this in Glenn Clark and in Frank Laubach but the emphasis is upon how easy it all is, and from the master to the disciple it is so much a matter of taking up the formula, and alas the formula is not enough.

Yet the trials and suffering of this good and blessed man who wrote this book tell more behind the lines of how he has been used for power than the formulae that he sets forth. For clearly from this book streams power and an invitation to find it. Fellowship of Reconciliation members will give thanks for this book and will lay it down ever so grateful not only that they have read it but that so good and true a man is living in our time.

—Douglas V. Steere

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JOURNALISM . . . *Cont'd*

situation or exerts a force upon that individual or situation, is of primary importance in understanding them. Reporters have always known this. The true stories that they tell privately to one another in press rooms have always been nearer the whole truth than what they have written.

Joe Citizen may quite willingly reach a point where he might want to become G. I. Joe again. Though his own nation's "absolutism" is often provocative, instinct will lead Joe to defend his country from the outright challenge if a deeper absolutism should threaten it. But it is he himself who should reach that point, and through a vaster knowledge than he now possesses of all elements—personal and psychological, conscious and unconscious, as well as economic, political, and military—which are at work in the total field of world politics. And the primitive tribal obsessions of political and military élites can be approached, understood, exposed, and perhaps partly disarmed and neutralized by the tools now available to journalists.

Ordinarily we do not like to reprint articles from other publications, but this one, which appeared some time ago in The Nation, *seemed so appropriate that we felt it should be made available again to our readers. Reprinted by permission from* The Nation, *April 16, 1949.*

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; ***Far West:*** Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; ***Southwest:*** Glenn Smiley, Room 115, 213 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.; ***Middle Atlantic:*** Charles Walker, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

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